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ABSTRACT

Prepared as part of the Turko-Danish Fairytale Project conducted to uncover universal, cross-cultural features in readers' response to literature, this paper reports on a pilot study to determine which three out of nine preselected fairy tales would elicit the most faceted response from a population of Turkish readers. After explaining the selection of readers, the paper then details the translation, editing, and stylistic preparation of the tales to make them comprehensible to Turkish readers. A description of the nine-point questionnaire used to elicit responses from the readers about each tale is followed by an analysis of their answers using a 29-point key developed by the researchers. The discussion of the key is divided into two sections, the first dealing with the readers' economic and cultural backgrounds, the second with the readers' conscious and unconscious interpretation and evaluation of the texts. The latter section pays particular attention to the themes of "struggle with authority" and "rewards." Statements reflecting these themes that could be deduced from the texts were incorporated into the key based on the analysis of fairy tale content. (RBW)

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FAIRYTALE

An Interdisciplinary Turco-Danish Study of the Collective v. the Individual Nature of the Response to Literature

Report No. 9

Title: Report on the Selection Procedure Based on Readers' Responses to the Original Nine Tales in Turkey

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Purpose

The purpose of this study was to identify the "märchen", out of the three groups of tales set up, (i.e. a group of three Turkish tales, a group of three Danish tales, and a group of common tales) which seemed to elicit the most-faceted response in view of the overall purpose of the experiment. This was to lead to the setting up of a list, in order of priority, of the three tales in each group.

The present report is concerned only with the procedure followed by the Turkish team in conducting the pilot study, and in evaluating and selecting the tales. Report No.8 discusses the selecting procedure followed by the Danish team in a study carried out in Denmark in accordance with the principles determined by that team.

A similar list in order of priority was prepared in Denmark, and the two lists were then compared to pick out the tales which, in view of the readers in both countries as well as the theoretical framework, appeared to be most suitable.

The study is the first trial experiment mentioned in Report No.5, pp.6-8 .

Editing and Translation

The principles of editing and translation applied to the tales used in the Turkish pilot study were determined by the Turkish team in view of the following points:

a) The Turkish tales were selected from P.N.Boratav's collection of "märchen" Az Gittik Uz Gittik (Bilgi Yayınevi,

1969) and they were given to the Turkish readers with no additional editorial changes. Boratav has slightly edited the tales which he collected all over Turkey. He explains in Zaman Zaman İçinde (Remzi Kitabevi, 1958) the principles he adheres to in editing the tales he publishes. As a rule Boratav leaves out some of the repetitions which sound pleasant in the oral narration but which become tedious on the printed page. Morevover, he replaces local dialectical expressions, idioms and syntactical features with their counterparts in standard Turkish "märchen" narration in order to make the tales comprehensible to all Turkish readers.

b) The Danish tales were translated into Turkish via English. Special care was taken to put them into the Turkish "parole". The tenses of the verbs were sometimes changed into the historical past or the simple present which are the standard tenses for tale narration, in Turkey. The reported speech within reported speech, used mainly in Per Smed's Whip, was either replaced by direct speech or worked into the text in the form of third person narration. Understatement, which is a popular form of expression in Danish narratives, was changed because it constitutes an alien feature for the Turkish readers. Understatements were rendered into Turkish in the form of exclamatory phrases or sentences. Formulas and idiomatic sayings were tailored in accordance with the rules of the Turkish language. Danish "dalers" were rendered into Turkish as "akçe" (gold coins) and "paertegoejj" in Per Smed's Whip was replaced by another meaningless or nonsense word "zamazingo".

c) The common tales were translated into Turkish once again from their English versions. The English translations of

the Greek tales, The Girl Who Married An Animal and The Ungrateful Snake, the Man and the Fox, were taken from Dawkins' collection[1]. The title of the first story was changed into The Girl Who Marries the Son of An Ogress. The names of localities in Greece and the few untranslatable Christian terms were deleted. Once again care was taken to tailor the formulas, idiomatic sayings and syntactical features in accordance with the Turkish narrative style, without damaging the meaning of the original text. The German story Allerlei-Rauh was taken from Segal's translation of Grimm's tales[2]. This tale was edited so that the incest theme was pruned (our concern was to bring the story closer to its Turkish and Danish versions). Accordingly the three clues given by the princess to her husband-to-be were also altered. The ring, the spinning wheel and the reel dropped into the soup bowl were changed into a golden ring, a golden brooch and a golden pin respectively.

Procedure

The procedure followed was a briefer version of the one described in Report No.5, pp.6,7 and 9-11.

In the selection study 75 readers were used, all of whom were students at the preparatory school of Boğaziçi University. The reason for working with these particular set of students was that they are the readers who will later be used as the core group in the main part of the project. The expe-

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[1] More Greek Folktales, chosen and trans. by R.M.Dawkins, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

[2] The Juniper Tree and Other Tales from Grimm, trans. by Lore Segal with 4 tales trans. by Randall Jarell, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.

rimental set-up aimed at the following:

1- The readers' age was to be kept constant. (The average age was 18).

2- It was apprioristically assumed that the sex factor was to be accounted for in the study. (Out of 25 readers who wrote on each group of tales, the answers of only 14 readers, seven boys and seven girls, were analyzed for statistical use to make up for the uneven distribution of sex in these groups. (See Appendix V).

3- The tales were to be read and the questionnaires filled at one sitting-within a period of one-and-a-half hours. (This would only account for the readers' immediate response, but it would keep the variables involved in comprehension and evaluation to the minimum. Time restriction would ensure keenness of attention. See Appendix II).

4- The personal and honest opinions and interpretations of the readers were tobe ensured through the introductory instruction read out to them and the attituted of the experimenters throughout the process.(See Appendix II).

5- The readers' conscious and unconscious interpretation and evaluation of the texts were to be covered both by direct questions (i.e. what is the main theme of the tale according to you?. Would you say that there is any symbolic meaning in this tale? Which of these tales did you like best? Which of them did you find most in line with the Turkish culture?) and indirectly, by asking the readers to summarize the tales. Those who gave ambiguous or set answers to the questions would give themselves away by the way they summarized the tales (See Appendix V).

6- The questions on the background variables to be used in the main part of the project were formulated in a way best suited to the conditions in Turkey. (Where does your family reside? How would your family reside? How would you classify the total income of your family?). However, since the stimulus material was not "correct" but only "indicative" at this stage, they were not included in the statistical analysis of the responses.

The Collecting of Data

The three texts in each group were typed with questions pertaining to each inserted at the end of every tale. Blank spaces were provided for the answers. The questions on background variables followed the last question on the third tale (Appendix I).

75 students in six classes were asked by their instructors to move to a large lecture room. There Dilek Doltaş read out the pre-reading instructions (See Appendix II), and the texts in the form of booklets were handed out to the students by the members of the Turkish team. Care was taken to ensure the subjects' alertness. They were told that they had 90 minutes at their disposal but that those who finished earlier could leave after handing in their booklets. The members of the team went around and marked the sex of the readers on their papers during the reading session.

Readers did not attempt to talk among themselves. Only one was at first hesitant to cooperate but when asked to give it a try and to leave if he was still not interested, he too stayed on to read the tales and to answer the questions. Several readers said they liked the tales a lot and asked if

they could keep the texts.

5 readers seem to have overlooked the last page of the booklet on which those questions pertaining to background variables were listed.

The Analysis

In order to provide for a systematic treatment of the data, a key was prepared by Dilek Doltaş and Yılmaz Esmer (See Appendix III). The analysis proper was done jointly by Dilek Doltaş and Cevza Sevgen. (See Appendix IV for the principles underlying the preparation of the key and the method of its application.)

The answers of 12 readers (i.e. the responses of 2 boys and 2 girls who wrote on the best-liked tales in each of the 3 groups - The Ungrateful Snake, Per Smed and Father of Six Girls) are translated literally into Englsih by Cevza Sevgen and given in full along with the overall evaluation of the responses in Appendix V. No cribbing was observed.

General Comments on the Analysis

The following observations were deduced by Dilek Doltaş and Cevza Sevgen in the overall analysis of the answers with the awareness that they are far from being definitive statements but are to be regarded as pointers only:

1- The main theme appears tobe predominantly expressed in ethical terms - "good generates good"; "evil generates evil"; "good conquers evil".

2- The summaries indicate that the surface features relating to "help" given or received are presented with every bit of detail.

3- The question on symbolism has generated either some "first rate" answers from our readers or some very insipid ones. However, a number of readers have also merely restated the main theme in answering this question.

4- Those readers who do not interpret the tales in summarizing them do so in stating the main theme or explaining the symbols. In some answers the main themes were ambiguous and could be clarified only with the help of the summaries.

5- Fantastic elements in the tales do not seem to draw too much attention. The majority of the readers appear to have taken things and events as given and have rarely questioned them.

6- Many readers associate marriage with happiness.

7- A number of readers say that there is no main theme in the tale in question, and then go on and write out what the main theme is according to them.

8- <u>In the answers to the Danish Tales</u>:

a) In four out of fourteen cases almost no reference is made to surface features.

b) Two people refer to Danish tales as nonsensical - simply as "tales" with a negative connotation.

c) Four people find none of the Danish tales culturally close.

d) The Turkish readers appear to be affected by the exotic or alien elements in the Danish and common tales yet they seem to have taken them as part of the fairy tale's fantastic world.

9- In the answers to the Turkish Tales:

a) Comparatively speaking surface features draw more attention.

b) Some answers have no resolution.

10- During the experiment only two people asked what was meant by the term "symbolism".

11- Some said that they liked the tales a lot and would like to keep them.

Postscript

Since our key to the evaluation of the questionaire was a close-ended one it fell short of accounting for all the factors that were brought up in the answers. Nevertheless it has given us an idea where to begin and what changes or additions are needed at this stage.

In the assessment of our data, we realized that thematic features are more easily noticed and commented on by readers in Turkey than stylistic features, which require some kind of literary background.

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

After each tale

1- Write a short summary of the tale (a two paragraph summary is sufficient).

2- What is the main theme of the story according to you?

3- Would you say that there is any symbolic meaning or anything that is symbolic in this tale.

4- Had you heard of this tale before? If so would you state when and how you came to know of it?

At the end of the third tale following question No.4

5- Which of these tales did you like best?

6- Which of them did you find most in line with the Turkish culture? Please explain your reasons in a few words.

7- How many books did you read during the last year? How many of these could be classified as novels, stories, poems, etc.?

8- Where does your family reside? (If they live in Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir please name the district).

9- How would you classify the total income of your family.

more than 50,000 TL.
between 30,000 - 50,000 TL.
between 20,000 - 15,000 TL.
between 15,000 - 10,000 TL.
less than 10,000 TL.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

We request your help for an interdisciplinary research project conducted by a group of six professors from the Universities of Boğaziçi and Copenhagen. This project is being supported by the research centers of the respective Universities and the UNESCO. Should you have questions concerning the project we shall be happy to answer them after the questionnaires are collected.

Now we shall give you each three fairy tales to read. We would like you to go over them carefully and answer the questions following each tale. You will have an hour and a half to do this. We should like to emphasize that this is not an examination and that your answers will not be evaluated as "true" or "false". What we are esentially interested in are your personal views. You are not to write your names on the questionnaires. At the end of the one and a half hours we would like you to turn in the tales along with the questions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX III

THE KEY

1-3. Interview	I.D.
4. Sex	1. male 2. female
5. Residence	1. metropolitan high 2. metropolitan middle 3. metropolitan low 4. other.
6. Poetry	0. none 1. 1-2 2. 3-5 3. 6 or more
7. Fiction	same codes as 6.
8. non-fiction	same codes as 6.
9. Income	0. lt 10,000 1. 10-15,000 2. 15-20,000 3. 20-30,000 4. 30-50,000 5. gt 50,000
10. First choice	0. none 1. Keloğlan 2. Altı Kız 3. Tencere 4. Binbir Parçalı Kürk 5. Devoğlu 6. Nankör Yılan 7. Prens ile Kaplan Çocuk

8. Per Smed
9. Kız ile Köpek
10. Cannot say.

11. Culturally close — Same codes as 10.

12. Reason for cultural closeness:

0. None
1. Characters
2. Plot and theme
3. Symbolisms
4. Style
5. Physical environment
6. Customs, values, behavior patterns (religious, ethical social)
7. Other
8. All.

13. First tale — Same codes as 10.

14. Heard the tale before

1. Yes
2. No
3. Doesn't remember
4. Knows similar tale
5. No answer

15. Main theme

1. Individualistic
2. Social (culture specific)
3. General
4. Don't know, no answer
5. Ambigious
6. None.

Struggle with Authority

16. Testing of the norms, negative (-), positive (+)

16. Struggle against norms: 1. Yes, 2. No, 3. Unclear, ambiguous (-), (+).

17. Struggle against authority figure (parental), (-), (+).

18. 1. Struggle against other authority: (-), (+).
    2. Taking up challenges, (-), (+).

19. 1. Struggle against physical conditions (survival, poverty, inaptitude, etc.), (-), (+).
    2. Struggle against moral conditions (incest, adultery, etc.), (-), (+).

20. 1. Success in challenging the norms, (-), (+).
    2. Affirmation of the norms, (-), (+).

21. Acceptance by authority (parental), (-), (+).

22. 1. Acceptance by other authority, (-), (+).
    2. Fulfillment of the challenge, (-), (+).

23. Overcoming of authority (parental), (-), (+).

24. Overcoming of authority (other), (-), (+).

25. 1. Surmounting of physical conditions, (-), (+).
    2. Surmounting of moral conditions, (-), (+).

Rewards

26. Marriage (marriage or reunion of married couples)

27. Material gain (money, life)

28. 1. Status and/or prestige
    2. Moral reward
    3. Psychological reward (the opponent's punishment is also taken as the protagonist's psychological reward).

29. Symbolic meaning, 1. Yes, 2. No, 3. Ambiguous, 4. No answer.

APPENDIX IV

A. THE PREPARATION AND THE APPLICATION OF THE KEY

Points 4-9 were prepared with the intention of covering, in very broad terms, the readers' economic and cultural backgrounds.

Points 10 and 11 were inserted in order to evaluate the straightforward questions on personal preference and cultural affinity.

Point 12 was designed with the aim of categorizing, under more specific headings, the reasons for and against cultural affinity.

Point 14 sought to discover correlations between the preformed experiences of the readers (if the tales were read or heard before) and their immediate experience.

Point 15 was structured to evaluate broadly the nature of the thematic analysis given by the reader.

Points 16-28 (inclusive) are theme-oriented. The themes that were incorporated into the key as possible statements that could be deduced from the texts were drawn from the analyses of the "fairytale" content discussed in reports No.3 and 6.

Point 16* was to cover those answers which saw in the tales the acting out of the theme: "testing of social or cross-cultural norms" either in a spirit of approval and assertion or disapproval and/or cynicism.

Point 16, as opposed to 16*, sought to register those responses which made note of a spirit of protest against norms and regarded the struggle not as a testing of what may be right but as a direct confrontation. Once again the confrontation could be viewed either in a positive and sympathetic or in a negative and cynical and/or unsympathetic light.

Point 16* was actually added to the list at the time of the evaluation since a great need for such a category was felt by both Doltaş and Sevgen.

Points 17 and 18 were designed to gauge the reader's response to the conflict with authority inherent in the processes of initiation and socialization. The positive function was to cover those responses which took an affirmative, assertive attitude towards this struggle. The negative function covered those responses which viewed the struggle in a cynical or defeatist light.

Point 18 (2) allowes for a second category for evaluating those answers which regarded the struggle as the taking up of a challange rather than as a direct confrontation with any authority figure.

Points 19 (1) and (2) both concentrated on the classification of the responses which saw the struggle in terms of restricting physical and moral pressures rather than as against the outright authority of a person or persons.

Points 20-25 (inclusive) were designed to cover those sections of the answers which dwelt on the resolution of the above discussed struggles, testing situations and the taking up of challanges. Their positive and negative functions were once again inserted to register the attitude of the reader

vis-à-vis the protagonist's mode of resolving the situation.

Points 26-28 (inclusive) aimed to cover the last part of the answers where readers commented on the rewards attained by the protagonists of the tales. The points made by the readers were quite straightforward and easily fell into the self-evident categories stated in the key.

Point 29 was to be an indicator as to whether the readers saw any symbolic meaning in the characters or in the action of the tale. No detailed categorization was sought for at this point so that those readers who had little or no background in literary studies might also answer the question without feeling unduely intimidated. This was also the reason why more specifically literary questions were not incorporated into the questionnaire.

B. THE APPLICATION OF THE KEY: A SAMPLE

103/female

Keloğlan

1. Unable to resist (the challange implicit in) the words of the youngmen in the coffee-house, Keloğlan sets out to marry the Wife of Heroes. His aim was to prove to the youngmen in the coffee-house his courage and manhood. Then he meets an ogress and by sucking her breast, he makes her accept (or see) him as her own child. The ogress gets him accepted by her ogre sons. But after everyone goes to bed, he succeeds in escaping by means of a few clever tricks. The ogress follows after him. On the way he asks a frog and a tortoise for help, but they too are afraid. In the end a hedgehog helps him. The ogress, who tries a couple of times to swallow the hedgehog, is torn to pieces and dies. Keloğlan cuts off her ears and takes them to the youngmen at the coffee-house. They in turn congratulate him.

2. That all obstacles in the way (leading) to a goal (or ideal) can be surmounted through cleverness.

3. The mother-son relationship is displayed through the milk-sucking (incident).

4. A part of it, yes.

The Father of Six Girls
(i.e. The Golden Apple)

1. A man with 6 sons daily offended with his words another man with 6 daughters. The man's youngest daughter uptakes the other man's challange, that is, to take the golden apple from Beyoğlu's pocket and sets off with his (i.e. the other man's) son. In the end the girl (dressed up as a boy) succeeds in this undertaking but Beyoğlu falls in love with the girl. He has her tracked down by a hag and manages to find the girl. They get married and live happily.

2. In the face of an attitude which looks down on women and which does not regard women as equal to men, (the story is) a proof of the fact that a woman can do everything at least as well as a man.

3. Bitch carries a symbolic meaning.

4. No.

The Tiny Cooking Pot

1. There's a young girl who with her mother could barely subsist by spinning and selling thread. One day she buys a pot with the money she earns and goes home. Her mother is angry at her for not having bought food and throws the pot out into the street. The pot is found by different people on several occasions and it brings to the girl the things which are put inside it. Finally (or the last time around) the prince who comes out of the pot and the girl get married and they find happiness.

2. Honest effort (or labor) is never left without a reward.

3. No answer.

4. No answer.

5. The second tale (i.e. The Father of Six Girls).

6. The second tale. During the 18th and 19th centuries, women occupied a secondary place in our society with respect to men.

7. a) 2 books, b) novels.

8. Diyarbakır

9. 20,000 - 30,000 TL. range.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
															16*													
1	0	3	2	4	0	1	0	3	2	2	6	1	1	1			2^+				2^+			1^+			1	1
												2	2	2	1^+		2^+		1^+		2^+				x			1
												3	5	3	x^{*+}			1^+	2^+					1^+	x			4

1st Row - 29 categories listed in Appendix III.

2nd Row - 1-12 : reader's answers to questions on background and on his/her first choice etc.

13-29: evaluation of the reader's comments on Keloğlan

3rd Row - 13-29: evaluation of the reader's comments on Father of Six Girls

4th Row - 13-29: evaluation of the reader's comments on The Tiny Cooking Pot

A. ANALYSIS OF THE RESPONSES

1. Keloğlan

By and large the tale can be interpreted as the taking up and the fulfilling of a challenge - both in a positive and in a devious way. The reward is usually interpreted as the attainment of prestige and/or psychological satisfaction.

A number of readers see an initiation theme in this story. Motherchild relationship (via breast feeding), hence struggle against parental authority is also either verbalized or made implicit in the answers.

In two answers the conflict appears to be based on the struggle between the real and the substitute mother in the mind of "Kel." These readers imply that because the surrogate mother does not live up to "Kel"'s expectations, her death brings to him a kind of psychological fulfillment, and he does not attain any prestige or status through it. In fact, the episode dealing with the return to the coffee-house is left out in their summeries.

Surface features:

In some papers the happiness of the real mother at the end is mentioned. In many it is left out.

Terminology used by the readers reflects heroic values. One girl reacts against this type of heroism yet she too uses similar vocabulary.

In one paper Keloğlan's success is considered to be undeserved.

The hedgehog comes out as the true agent of this undeserved success.

The majority of the readers (12 out of 23) find this tale closest to Turkish culture mainly because it revolves around the character "Keloğlan" - a popular Turkish tale hero. This is clearly stated in their answers.

2. Father of Six Girls

Many interpret the main theme as discrimination against the female sex in which, however, women are vindicated.

Though only 3 out of 7 boys put this tale down as their first choice, an overwhelming majority of girls (5 out of 7 and 7 out of 11) say that they like this story best.

2 boys and 3 girls see no sex discrimination in the tale. They summarize it as a tale of contest - the contest being either between a boy and a girl or between two families. These readers say in their discussions of the main theme that it is basically about the success of wit over all obstacles. In their summaries marriage is presented in a very offhand manner; it is almost forced on the girl and is not a reward or a promise of happiness.

In one girl's answer the girl is said to be motivated by family loyalty alone.

Most see the tale as a struggle against social norms and or as the taking up of a challenge. The resolution, then, appears to be respectively, success in challenging the norms or the fulfillment of the challenge. (In these answers the

reward of the girl is mainly the attainment of prestige and/or psychological, and marriage appears to be only a side issue.)

Not too much attention is paid to the surface features of this tale. For example, few describe or even make a note of how the girl outwits her rival or how Beyoğlu tests the girl's real sex. Yet a large variety of very loaded answers are observed in the comments made on the topics child versus family, man versus woman, wit versus physical strength.

3. The Tiny Cooking-Pot

In two answers present social and political attitudes are read into the tales - e.g., "work gets its material due under all circumstances". In many answers the tale is interpreted as the testing of moral norms (good deeds generate other good deeds). In a number of summaries the Pot appears to be the protagonist of the story.

a) In some the Pot is presented as a rejected human being who insists on doing good and attains status in this way.

b) In a few answers it is suggested that some good is done to the Pot and the Pot wishes to return it.

c) In one answer the Pot is described as a much-admired luxury item which it is good and right to own on the condition that the buyer wants to have it so badly - self assertion in spite of physical and/or parental restriction.

d) In many the Pot is the symbol of the girl's assertion of her own will against that of her mother.

In nine answers out of fourteen the reward is as much material gain as marriage.

4. Allerlei-Rauh

The main theme of this story appears to be the girl's struggle with the moral conditions she finds herself in once forced to marry her father. The story appears to be centered on this father-daughter relationship.

Few readers comment on the hardships the girl has to face in working in the kitchen.

In a number of answers the father's unnatural wish is so magnified that the king is said to represent the evil forces the girl has to overcome in life. In at least two answers we are told that the girl represents patience and cleverness. In a few answers she is said to stand for patience and goodness. And in these responses the main theme appears to be the overcoming of evil and/or parental authority through patience, endurance and/or wit.

In seven answers out of fourteen the father's authority is combined with the moral dilemma that the girl finds herself in, and in these papers the girl is said to struggle with them both and has to overcome them both before she can attain happiness.

In one answer the moral dilemma is presented as a means of testing the social norms.

The surface features relating to the time she spends in the kitchen is overlooked in the majority of the answers. When they are mentioned they are merely referred to as the "difficulties" the girl was faced with in the kitchen. The surface features relating to her beauty (the golden hair), the description of the dresses and the dropping of jewellery into the soup cup are frequently observed.

5. The Girl Who Married an Animal (Musk and Amber)

This appears to be the story least liked among the three common stories. It is also the one that has been most diversely interpreted.

Some see the ogress as a malicious force and/or authority that the girl has to overcome. Some suggest that the ogress is not so bad after all, in fact she pities the girl and is happy to have her marry her son.

Some blame the girl for what happens and dwell on the initial situation that leads to her mother's curse. These readers interpret the rest of the story as the overcoming of the physical conditions, that are generated by her own misbehavior, through luck (she is lucky and is helped by Misk-i Amber) or through the love that Misk-i Amber feels for her. Their summaries cut short the tasks she has to fulfill and her beauty is given credit rather than her endurance and/or goodness. They see her as a passive protagonist.

Some describe her as more active, and she is said to overcome the physical obstacles through her own wit and goodness. Those who emphasize her goodness suggest that it is her goodness generates love in Misk-i Amber. Some dwell on her

beauty and attribute the cause of Misk-i Amber's love for her to her looks.

The surface features are given in some in detail. Some expand on the initial situation, some on the tasks she has to fulfil to satisfy the ogress. Many overlook the culturally alien features in the tale, like the "kissing of the bride's crown at the wedding", "Virgin Mary" or "the chapel", possibly because of their familiarity with the character Misk-i Amber. In fact four readers out of fourteen identify this story as the one that is closest to Turkish culture.

6. The Ungrateful Snake

This story is definitely the most popular tale among Turkish readers. Thirteen out of twenty readers put it down as their first choice; it has also generated the most-faceted response.

In the majority of the answers the fox draws as much attention as the man. Some say that the man has been unfair to the fox. Some blame the fox and suggest that it was right for her to be punished. Some identify the fox with the man. The nature of the reward is also quite ambigious. If the man and the fox are identified the reward is attained through deceit in one case, through wit in the other.

Explicitly in two answers and implicitly in a number of answers anti-feminist views are emphasized. These readers observe that it is the man's wife who leads the man to act unjustly and that the fox who also acts deviously, is a female fox. These readers do not seem to be sorry for the fox who is

illtreated by the man.

One reader says that the story has a sexist bias, and it is unfair to present women in such a light and interestingly enough this reader is a male.

The surface features of the story are narrated quite faithfully in the majority of the answers.

7. Prince and the Tiger Child

We have related the daughter-in-law - mother-in-law conflict as "struggle against parental authority", taking also into account the Prince's conflict with his mother. Thes theme of "struggle against parental authority" appears to be the main theme in thirteen out of fourteen answers.

In eight out of fourteen cases the daughter-in-law's reward is seen simply as the punishment of the queen mother - the queen mother is described as an evil force. Sometimes the young queen's reward appears to be solely the punishment of the old queen, sometimes punishment is stated along with the reward of happiness attained in reunion and in a few cases the reward is derived from reunion alone.

In two cases the tiger represents the real mother figure. In one case the evil queen mother looms very large; in the same case there is no other reward or punishment than bringing truth out into the open.

In one case no reference is made to surface features.

In two instances the mother-in-law is somewhat

justified for her refusal to accept the girl as her daughter-in-law because she is said to be too wild in her upbringing and also cannot talk.

8. Per Smed's Whip

In the majority of the cases the main theme appears to be the struggle against the physical obstacles Per has to overcome in order to survive. In a few cases the bailiff represents "other authority", and in two cases he is said to be the representative of the feudal lord. Those who refer to the bailiff as a figure of authority expect Per to overcome the bailiff along with the obstacles put on his way.

Interestingly enough the question of authority and obedience implicitly presented in this tale is ignored except for one case. Moreover the type of political commentary which this tale could conceivably call forth never appears.

Three readers summarize the story solely in terms of a love triangle and in their responses the theme of adultery comes to the foreground. In fact in one case Per's only reward is to succeed in being the cause of the lovers' separation.

In many cases readers note that the adulterous couple would rather have Per run away than kill him.

In one case Per's sole reward is the punishment of the bailiff whereas in most cases the restitution of a happy marriage is part of the reward.

The one surface feature frequently observed is that Per is old and his wife is young and pretty.

9. The Girl and The Dog

This tale generates the most general ethical responses - do good so that others may do the same onto you.

The ogress is not an authority figure but in the majority of the cases, she is the generator of the difficult physical conditions which the girl must surmount - in any case she is not a threatening figure on her own.

The girl is often described as a "poor orphan" with sympathy.

Her final reward is generally both marriage and material gain.

B. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Turkish Tales

Tale 1 - Keloğlan

2 boys, out of a total of 14 readers (7 boys and 7 girls), like this story best.

1 girl, out of a total of 14 readers (7 boys and 7 girls), like this story best.

4 boys find it closest to Turkish culture.

3 girls find it closest to Turkish culture.

Tale 2 - The Father of Six Girls

3 boys, out of a total of 7 boys, like this story best.

5 girls, out of a total of 7 girls, like this story best.

1 boy finds it closest to Turkish culture.

3 girls finds it closest to Turkish culture.

Tale 3 - The Tiny Cooking-Pot

1 boy, out of a total of 14 readers, likes this story best.

None find it closest to Turkish culture.

Note: 1 boy likes all the stories.

1 boy finds all the stroies culturally very close.

1 boy finds both the tales 1 and 2 closest to Turkish culture.

Both Keloğlan and The Father of Six Girls produced multi-faceted responses in our readers; however, since the majority of our readers (8 out of 14) like The Father best and since

this story is also the one which elicited the most-faceted response from the Danish readers, we recommend that we use The Father as "Turkish Tale" in the first pilot study.

Common Tales

Tale 4 - Allerlei-Rauh

3 girls and 1 boy, out of a total of 14 readers (7 boys and girls), like this story best.

1 boy and 1 girl, out of a total of 14 readers, find it closest to Turkish culture.

Tale 5 - The Girl Who Married an Animal

None of the 14 readers put it down as their first choice.

2 girls out of a total of 20 readers who read these stories said they liked it best.

3 girls and 1 boy, out of a total of 14, find it closest to Turkish culture.

Tale 6 - The Ungrateful Snake

6 boys and 4 girls, out of a total of 14, like the story best.

2 boys and 3 girls, out of a total of 14, find it closest to Turkish culture.

Note: The Ungrateful Snake is the story which has produced the most multi-faceted response from our readers. It is also decidedly their first choice.

Danish Tales

Tale 7 - The Prince and the Tiger Child

1 girl, out of a total of 14 readers (7 boys and 7 girls), likes this story best.

1 boy and 3 girls find it closest to Turkish Cultere.

Tale 8 - Per Smed's Whip

2 boys and 3 girls like it best.

2 girls find it closest to Turkish culture.

Tale 9 - The Girl and the Dog

5 boys and 1 girl like it best.

5 boys and 2 girls find it closest to Turkish culture.

Note: 5 readers (1 girl and 4 boys) said either that they liked none of the stories or that they could not make up their minds about them. 1 reader said he liked them all.

Out of 14 readers 5 seemed to have liked Per Smed's Whip, and 6, The Girl and the Dog. But out of a total of 25 readers, 8 have liked Per Smed best and 7, The Girl, and because the distribution of sexes in terms of preference is more even in the case of Per Smed and because this story appears to have generated the most-faceted response (the themes of struggle against authority, and/or physical conditions, and/or adultery), we recommend this story to be "the Danish Story" used in our first pilot study.

C. SAMPLE RESPONSES

The following answers are rendered into English literally in order to avoid any possible interpretations that may be read into them by any of the team-members.

Father of Six Girls

108/male

1. The story relates the bet between two fathers in a village. One claims that men are more clever (i.e. skillful, resourceful) and the other that women are more clever. The daugher (of one of the fathers) surmounts the obstacles on the way through her wit and will power. She arrives at Beyoğlu's lodging, she makes good the word she had given in her village and gets the golden apple through her cleverness and resourcefulness. She is rewarded when she brings the golden apple to her village. But the way is wide open in this tale for the girl (to succeed) because a man's heart can only be stolen by a woman. It is clear here that the girl will wed Beyoğlu.
2. That women are superior to men and that one can do anything through (the assertion of) one's will power.
3. The golden apple - It may be the man's heart.
4. No.

   This reader has not answered the questions on the last page.

112/male

1. A man has six daughters. But every evening when he goes to the coffeehouse, a man with six sons makes fun of him. The girls tell their father that they are ready to enter a contest (i.e. to compete) with the other man's sons. So the two men sent a girl and a boy (i.e. one of the daughters and one of the sons) to get the golden apple from Beyoğlu's pocket. On the way the boy, who was unable to cross the bridge across the river, goes back home. In a village where she stop later, the girl is given a poodle and some yeast by a granny. The girl came to a great body of water along the way. She threw half of the yeast into the water and passed across. She reached the palace (and) Beyoğlu fell in love with this visitor. To see whether it was a girl or a boy, they went to a Turkish bath. But there the girl took the golden apple and returned home. The people in the palace went to the witch (i.e. old hag). She took two pigeons and went to the girl's village. She recognized the girl by the pearl-tooth in her mouth. At night as she slept, the pigeons took the girl to the palace. Beyoğlu and the girl got married.
2. Prowess is not related to sex. Whoever uses his/her wit better, achieves great things.
3. Yes, there is. The father of the boys represents people who taunt and make fun of others.
4. No, I hadn't heard it before.
5. I liked the first story best (i.e. Keloğlan).
6. I found the first two stories (i.e. Kel and Father) closer to Turkish culture. Both deal with heroism, prowess and courage.
7. a) 15-12.
   b) 7-8.

8. İstanbul/Osküdar
9. 30,000 - 50,000 TL.

106/female

1. In a certain village, girls were looked down upon and a man with six daughters was continually scorned, sneered at by a friend who had sons. This made the father very sad and thereupon, in order to free her father from disgrace and to show that girls too were worth something, his youngest daughter decides to compete with the other man's son and they set off to fetch the golden apple from Beyoğlu's pocket. The boy failed; the girl not only took the golden apple but also made Beyoğlu fall in love with her and they got married.
2. To attain his goals and to reach a happy end, one must show effort, sacrifice and hard work.
3. Yes.
4. No.
5. Father of Six Girls.
6. Keloğlan because heroism and heroes have a special place and value in the Turkish culture since olden days.
7. a) 40-45, b) more than half were novels, but no short stroies or poetry.
8. Trabzon.
9. 50,000 TL. or more.

103/female

1. A man with 5 sons daily offended with his words another man with 6 daughters. The man's youngest daughter takes up

the other man's challenge, that is to take the golden apple from Beyoğlu's pocket and sets off with (the man's) son. In the end the girls (dressed up as a boy) succeeds in this undertaking but Beyoğlu falls in love with the girls. He has her tracked down by a hag and manages to find the girl. They get married and live happily.

2. In the face of an attitude which looks down on women and which does not regard them as equal to men, (the story is) a proof of the fact that a woman can do everything at least as well as a man.
3. Bitch carries a symbolic meaning.
4. No.
5. The second tale (i.e. Father).
6. The second tale. During the 18th and 19th centuries, women occupied a secondary place in our society with respect to men.
7. a) 2 books, b) both novels.
8. Diyarbakır.
9. 20,000 - 30,000 TL.

Per Smed's Whip

307/male

1. An old widower had married a young girl. The bailiff of the near-by manor house had his eye on the young woman. The two decided that, rather than killing him, they'd make him run far away. The bailiff told the man to pave the manor-house with mosaics in 24 hours, if not, he'd lose his life. As he ran away, the man met an old woman in the forest who helped him. The second time he was told to cover the marsh with trees. The woman helped him again. The third time he was told to make a zamazingo which would make everyone

laugh. The old (woman) gave him a whip and told him, when your wife wants to use the potty, say "Hold!" (So) when his wife wanted to use the potty, he said "hold" and the woman was held fast, and then the servant, the bailiff, the cow, the bull, the squire were all stuck to one another. They were all either naked or clad only in their undergarments. A funny situation had indeed resulted. (Then) he told the squire everything, and the squire sent the bailiff away. He (i.e. Per) and his wife lived happliy ever after.

2. Those who think of attaining happiness through foul means and craftiness may perhaps achieve that happiness for a short time, but not in the long run.
3. The bailiff (represents) hypocrisy, cunning, the old man, honesty (i.e. straightforwardness), the old woman, goodness.
4. No.
5. Per Smed's Whip.
6. The Girl and the Dog. Compared to the others, it's closer to the Turkish culture.
7. a) 5, b) all novels.
8. Istanbul/Osküdar.
9. 30,000 - 50,000 TL.

320/male

1. The old man Smed had married a young woman. The woman, in complicity with the bailiff of the near-by manor, decided to send her husband away. But an old woman helped the man each time and he was able to accomplish impossible things (i.e. tasks). Finally the bailiff asked him to do something which would make everyone laugh. The man, with the

help of the old woman, put them all in a funny or actually a shameful position. And then in return for the banishment of the bailiff and a certain sum of money, he (i.e. Per Smed) put everything right. And he achieved happiness.

2. Even under very difficult conditions, one may find a solution, or rather (one may) find helpers and the evil ones are punished.
3. The evil ones are punished, the good ones are saved.
4. No.
5. None.
6. The first one. (i.e. The Prince and The Tiger-Child). It is like a classical (i.e. traditional) Turkish tale-the beautiful girl, the handsome prince, the wicked woman and a happy ending.
7. a) 1 or 2, b) science-fiction.
8. Istanbul/Fındıkzade.
9. 20,000 - 30,000 TL.

308/female

1. The young and pretty wife of the once-widowed man called Per Smed, together with the bailiff of the neighboring manor, decides to do away with the man. Since the woman takes pity on her husband, she doesn't want him to be killed, so the bailiff gives him tasks one more difficult than the other and if he can't accomplish them, he tells him that he'll die. Under these circumstances the man has to run away, and he meets an old woman in the forest. After listening to his troubles, the old woman tells him that she can do these difficult things and she does (them). When the man is confronted with the same situation

for the third time, the old woman gives him a whip with which he can compel others to do his bidding and (she) also discloses to him the affair between his wife and the bailiff. With the help of the whip the man punishes his wife, his servant and the bailiff, and he receives some money from the owner of the neighboring manor. After this event, the bailiff is banished from the manor. The old man and his young wife continue to live - in peace.

2. The good are helped along because they are good and the wicked are punished.
3. The bailiff represents evil, the old man, justice and the right.
4. No.
5. The Prince and the Tiger Child.
6. The Girl and the Dog. Because of the importance attached to mutual help.
7. a) 4, b) 3 novels, 1 book of short stories.
8. Istanbul/Suadiye.
9. 30,000 - 50,000 TL.

312/female

1. There's a man called Per Smed. The man's wife is deceiving him (i.e. having an affair) with the bailiff. Each time they tell the poor man to perform tasks which are too difficult for him. However, he surmounts them all with the help of an old woman, and in the end he catches the bailiff with his wife. And he inflicts on them the punishment they deserve. He separates the two of them.
2. If you cheat (or deceive) someone, one day you'll be caught and punished.

3. The whip = symbolizes the right (thing)
   The magician (i.e. the old woman?) = symbolizes the accomplishment (or solution).
4. No.
5. The 2nd tale (i.e. Per Smed)
6. The 2nd one. It resolves the husband-wife relationship (i.e. conflict) in a way which is considered appropriate within the Turkish culture.
7. a) In 1980, I read 10 books.
   b) 6 novels, 3 books of short stories, 1 volume of poetry.
8. Istanbul/Esentepe.
9. 20,000 - 30,000 TL.

The Ungrateful Snake

204/male

1. A man who rescues a snake from the flames is confronted with the snake's threat to devour him. The snake says that it was another man who wanted to burn him, therefore mankind is evil and that he'll devour him. They (decide to) refer their case to an arbitrator. An ass says that the snake is right and a horse, that the man is right. In the end they meet a fox. The man promises the fox 10 hens and a cock. The fox deceives the snake and they burn him while acting out the initial situation. The man brings the fox, on his wife's advice, not the hens and the cock but his dog. The fox has a hard time saving his skin.
2. The one who does good does not always meet with goodness. It is more advantageous to profit by hoodwinking others.

3. Being passive in the face of events. The fact that the she-wolf and the woman are presented in a bad light shows that the tale is against women.
4. No.
5. The 3rd one (i.e. The Ungrateful Snake).
6. The 3rd one. (In the other ones there's a ball (dance) and Virgin Mary.) These are not appropriate to a Turkish tale.
7. a) 6, b) 3 novels, 2 scientific works, a great many short stories and a volume of poetry.
8. No answer.
9. 20,000-30,000 TL.

219/male

1. A man rescued a snake from a burning tree but the ungrateful snake wanted to swallow him. The man proposed that they find an arbitrator. After (consulting) several animals, they came to a fox. The man promised the fox a cock and 10 hens. And sure enough the clever fox saved the man. Then the man went home but his wife would not let him give (the fox) the hens and the cock; she sent the dog after the fox. After saving his life with difficulty, the fox thought that it was wrong to meddle in other people's affairs.
2. One shouldn't meddle in other people's affairs. Everyone should mind his own business.
3. The fox symbolizes those who seek to profit by other's misfortunes.

   The snake symbolizes ungrateful people.
4. No.

5. 3rd one (i.e. The Ungrateful Snake)
6. 2nd one (i.e. The Girl who Married an Animal)
7. a) About 10-12, b) 7-8 novels, 4 research works (?)
8. Samsun
9. 15,000 - 20,000 TL.

217/female

1. Upon the pleading of a burning snake, a man saves him (from the flames). (Then) the snake holds the man guilty and wants to kill him. Thereupon they decide to find an arbitrator. The ass sides with the snake and the horse, with the man. The third arbitrator, that is the fox, considers himself to be cunning and accepts a bribe. In the end both the snake and the fox are punished. The man is rewarded for his good deed and does not lose his life.
2. One should never waver from what he thinks is right; one should never accept a bribe and then suffer pangs of conscience.
3. The man symbolizes mankind. Another man's guilt in burning the tree (the snake was on) is transferred to him.
4. No.
5. No answer.
6. The 3rd one (i.e. The Ungrateful Snake) is closest to us because we can't get anything done without resorting to bribery.
7. a) more than 20, b) the majority were scientific books, about 5 short stories, a few books of poetry, 4 novels).
8. Istanbul/Kadıköy.

9. 15,000 - 10,000 TL.

209/female

1. One day a man saved a snake from burning. But the snake wanted to eat (i.e. devour) him. The man told the snake, I rescued you but you want to eat me. The snake answered that it was a man who burnt him and in the end they decided to find an arbitrator. They saw an ass; the ass took the snake's part because he himself was exploited by men. Then they sought another arbitrator, and a horse sided with the man. Then they sought yet another arbitrator; they saw a fox. The man told the fox that held give him hens. Thereupon the fox, claiming that it hadn't witnessed the incident, had a fire lit and told the man not to rescue the snake. When the man was about to take the hens to the fox, his wife told him not to take the hens but the dog. When the man brought the dog to the fox, it started running and realized its mistake.
2. You can not reach a right (just) and good end through cunning. One day someone else may practice the same kind of cunning trick on you and you may fall into the hole which you yourself have dug (a Turkish proverb).
3. Yes. Selfish people - the fox. Cunning people - the man and the fox. The ass - exploited people.
4. No.
5. I liked the 3rd one most. (i.e. The Ungrateful Snake)
6. The 2nd one (i.e. The Girl who Married an Animal). It resembles old Anatolian tales. The weaving, and bread-making by the mother and daughter resemble Turkish customs.
7. a) probaby 8 (in 5 months)
   b) 4 novels, 1 book of essays, 3 volumes of poetry.

8. Istanbul/Esentepe.

9. 15,000 - 20,000 TL.